

Social Progress



The Communists and Civil Liberties . . A. J. MUSTE

No CVA MARSHALL N. DANA

JANUARY 1950

Social Progress

DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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THE COMMUNISTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary, The Fellowship of Reconciliation.*

IN JULY of last year several thousand teachers and school officials gathered in Boston for the very important annual convention of the National Education Association. What was evidently regarded by the delegates as well as by the press and the public as the most important business of the convention had to do with a resolution that favored barring Communist Party members from teaching and other positions in the public schools. The resolution was carried in an atmosphere of intense excitement, impatience with any expression of negative opinion, and insistence on putting the thing through before the regular order for this action had arrived. The teachers of the nation, gathered in their biggest and most representative assembly, thus gave the children and youth of the country an example of how not to deliberate and act on a measure of great importance. Incidentally, shortly before this the N.E.A. delegates had protested against being "singled out" by legislatures imposing "loyalty oaths," as if they would have no objection if only everybody had to take loyalty oaths!

The action of the N.E.A. is typi-

cal of steps being taken by many bodies, both governmental and private, and the atmosphere of the National Education Association convention is typical of the hysteria that is now widespread.

Communism a Real Danger

I am one of those who believe that the world Communist movement and the Communist-dominated regimes in Russia and in other lands present problems of the utmost seriousness for all who value the democratic way of life and want to see it maintained, improved, and extended.

Believers in democracy abhor totalitarianism, and regardless of what may be true of some forms of communism in theory, Communism, as a cultural and political manifestation in our day, is a form of totalitarianism. To stop the spread of Communism, to abolish it as a way of life and as a political dictatorship, is therefore the necessary and urgent purpose of believers in democracy. I agree with those who hold that the menace of Communism and Russia is real and great, that the cleavage between Communism and democracy cannot be bridged by some simple and inexpensive device,

and that it is naïve to expect that Russia and the United States—in the absence of radical changes internally and in their relationship to each other—can live permanently or basically at peace.

The situation is complicated and aggravated by the fact that Communists constantly resort to deceit and violence, often to an extreme degree. It would be a mistake not to recognize that they believe that this is the only realistic way to work for “the revolution”—for a new social order—in the kind of world in which we live. But the fact remains that they use deceit and violence. They do conceal and lie about membership in the C.P. They penetrate organizations of all kinds for ulterior purposes and without hesitating to resort to the most egregious chicanery.

We Do Not Do as They Do to Us

A very special complication arises for practitioners of democracy from the fact that Communists vehemently insist on freedom to speak, write, and organize, and make great capital out of any restrictions placed upon themselves in the so-called democratic countries, but do not maintain these civil liberties in Russia or other Communist-dominated lands, and are frankly bent upon replacing “bourgeois democratic forms” with the “dictatorship of the proletariat” in the United States and other democracies. The C.P. in the United States actually supported the prose-

cution of Trotskyists in Minneapolis under the Smith Act in 1941, and at recent “Civil Rights Congresses” [sic] refused to join in urging pardon for these Trotskyists while demanding that all “progressive” elements join them in the bitterest protests against the current prosecution of Communist Party officials under this same act. Exasperated Americans understandably exclaim, “Why should a democratic country commit suicide by practicing tolerance toward the intolerant?”

But as this last phrase, which is now so commonly heard even among educated and sophisticated people, suggests, the measures that are currently being taken against the Communist menace themselves represent a departure from or at least compromise of democratic ideas and procedures. Imposing test oaths; requiring frequent and fervent protestations of “loyalty” to the regime or the ruler; imposing racial, political, or religious tests on citizens or public employees; imputing collective guilt to all who belong to a party, church, or other grouping without trial of the individuals involved and specific proof of guilt with respect to specific acts defined in specific laws; imputing guilt by association and intention as we do when, for example, all members of the C.P. are adjudged in advance to be unfit for teaching or other positions—all these are contrary to what we have considered democratic practice and the

American way of life. As a matter of fact, these are the things that characterize totalitarian or authoritarian regimes and which we have so often in recent decades deplored and condemned when observed in Italy, Germany, Japan, and Russia. Similarly, the hysteria that accompanies the enactment of the measures under dis-

cussion is characteristic not of democratic but of Fascist and Communist regimes. Democracy appears to be retreating in this democratic country. It is on the defensive and people seem to be accepting the idea that it can be defended only by undemocratic measures, by the at least temporary suspension of democracy.

Pronouncements on Civil Rights Adopted by the 160th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, June 1, 1948.

We believe that our Christian concern for freedom calls for ever vigilant defense of those Amendments to our Constitution which we call the Bill of Rights. The threat against these basic human rights by certain groups in power or by inflamed majorities is ever imminent even in a country where minorities and the individual are protected in their rights by law. In times of crisis tidal passions may sweep away these protective walls, whose strength lies in the public will for their enforcement, and freedom may be destroyed in the name of "freedom." Every denial of civil rights as defined in our Constitution whether by Government agency or political party or the pressure of cultural prejudices, as well as by such bodies as the Ku Klux Klan or by exponents of Communism or Fascism, must be regarded as a threat to our Christian concept of democracy and must be zealously opposed.

We oppose the Mundt Bill as a denial of our civil rights. We already have sufficient laws on our statute books that can be used to control subversive and treasonable activities.

We welcome and commend the honest and courageous efforts of all who are working to secure civil rights for all men as set forth in the report entitled *To Secure These Rights*. Such critical self-examination well befits a democracy and is a guarantee both of its soundness and of its right to endure. We call the attention of our people to the Declaration and Convention on Human Rights which are being studied and will be presented before the United Nations Assembly. This proposed declaration seriously challenges the United States to dedicate itself to the preservation of the human rights to which we have too often given only lip service.

But freedom is safe nowhere unless it is enjoyed everywhere. The tragic situation that now besets great areas of the earth makes the Christian ideal seem at times an irrelevant luxury or a hopeless fantasy. The first responsibility of the United States in securing human freedoms in the world is to give a vigorous demonstration in every community of our own land of the value which we attach to human liberty by our defense of it in every quarter. Secondly, we must encourage and strengthen freedom-loving people everywhere that they may preserve in their own lands those cherished rights without which the Christian concept of man and his spiritual significance will perish from the earth.

The thesis of this paper is that democracy ought to take the offensive, that the only way in which the democracy we still have can be defended and improved and extended is by a more "positive and imaginative," a more resolute, practice of democracy—without reservations and exceptions.

Actions vs. Speech

I am not dealing with the measures taken against illegal or violent actions of Communists or other subversive groups. For the sake of the present argument it will be assumed, for example, that counterintelligence operates against Russian spies in this country, that laws against violence in labor disputes or public demonstrations in which Communists may be involved are enforced, and that actions involving the betrayal of military secrets, treason, or threatening the forcible overthrow of national or state governments will be dealt with under the laws existing for the purpose. We are dealing essentially with matters in the realm of civil liberties, freedom of thought, speech, writing, and association.

Loyalty Oaths

It is held that Communists are disloyal and antidemocratic. Moreover, they are an insidious danger because they conceal the fact of their membership in the party and their adherence to Communist ideas. Therefore, it is argued, let us require

loyalty oaths of Government employees and teachers and let us bar Communists and/or "advocates of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence" from Government posts and from teaching positions in public schools and in private colleges and universities. By such means we propose to "smoke out" the Communists and thus deprive them of the opportunity surreptitiously to spread their doctrines and influence. But is it not plain on the face of it that this reasoning is poor? The Communists will not hesitate to take the loyalty oaths and to take stronger measures than ever to conceal their identity, whenever that may serve their purposes. They will feel that morally they are more justified than ever in doing so, for they will believe that these repressive measures confirm what they have all along contended, viz., that the exponents of civil liberties—and more particularly the governing elements in the so-called democratic countries—do not believe in civil liberty in principle, any more than they, the Communists, do. In other words, the Communists are condemned for operating in surreptitious ways and have to be "smoked out," so we institute measures that convince them that they were right all the time in believing that democracy is an illusion and a farce, and which make them take greater precautions against being "smoked out." This hardly seems the way either to win Com-

munists to faith in democracy or to protect society against their deceitfulness.

Then too the democratic or libertarian standard for engaging or retaining teachers is simply that they should be professionally competent. Outside of parochial schools there should be no religious or political test, such as that a teacher must or must not be Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or atheist; Democrat, Republican, Dixiecrat, Socialist, Communist. Professional competence, putting the matter in very summary fashion, means a knowledge of subject matter, skill in communicating subject matter and skills to others, and an attitude of wanting to help pupils to think rather than telling them what to think or seeking to bring emotional pressures for or against this or that ideology to bear on pupils or students. Now, it is argued by a good many usually sober and balanced people that the fact that a person becomes a member of the Communist Party in itself constitutes conclusive evidence that he or she cannot have the balanced, objective, unemotional attitude that is essential in a good teacher. The political views of Communist Party members are bound to color their teaching improperly.

But there should be no difficulty in weeding out C.P. members who are incompetent as teachers or in other capacities in the schools by the application of a pragmatic approach,

judging each case on the merit of the evidence produced about the individual's record. In this way we would avoid adopting the policy of guilt by association and intention which is contrary to the American tradition and characteristic of procedure under dictatorships.

Snooping Is Expensive

Then there is the question of the cost of the prevalent repressive measures. The Communists are not going to expose themselves voluntarily. Bulky and expensive investigating machinery is necessary. Under the Feinberg law in New York State every school board in the state has to examine somehow all the teachers in its jurisdiction. Of course, it will hardly be deemed sufficient to do this once in each case, certifying a teacher as loyal for the rest of his professional life. Experience shows that in these situations it is presently necessary to have investigators to check on the investigators. Politicians, moreover, who serve on Federal and state Committees on Un-American Activities have patronage, publicity, and other reasons for wanting their work extended and staffs enlarged. Seldom if ever does such an agency consent to go out of existence or even to have its appropriations cut a little.

It is surely curious that many of those who complain the loudest about the burden of governmental expenditures on the taxpayer seem to be unaware of the extent of this additional

burden, or otherwise do not mind it. And this in spite of the fact that many informed people, and especially spokesmen for the agencies under discussion, often charge that part of Stalin's policy is to drain the economic resources of the United States.

Professor Thomas I. Emerson, of the Law School of Yale University, pointed out at a conference of the American Civil Liberties Union last spring that fifty persons in Federal posts—none of them top echelon positions in any sense—out of a total of 2,300,000 have been discharged as a result of the loyalty tests. At the University of Washington, after a very long and searching study, three Communist Party members were found on a faculty of over seven hundred. Looking at the problem from another angle, Professor Henry Steele Commager, distinguished Columbia University historian, makes the flat assertion: "No instance has yet been produced where a Communist on a university faculty actually did harm to students or to scientific truth." And he goes on to point out that we have as yet no reliable evidence as to the advantage that follows from such an investigation and to suggest that the University of Washington should set up a careful study to answer these questions: "Will it then appear that competent scholars are more eager to join its faculty? Will parents breathe more easily? Will students come to the campus more gladly, and will

their learning and morals show an improvement?"

Incompetent Teachers in Our Public Schools

The current procedures are costly and dangerous also because they tend to divert attention from the really important reasons for the engaging and retention of incompetent teachers in the public schools. The job of teaching is held in low esteem by large sections of the American populace in spite of our sentimental professions of love for the public-school system. Multitudes of Americans, though they may not be aware of it, agree fundamentally with Bernard Shaw's verdict: "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Certainly there is no reason to think that the present anti-Communist hysteria and the measures that flow from it will do anything to remedy these tremendous evils. It is easy to imagine as we already suggested, that the result may be aggravation of them.

For example, if once we abandon the clear and simple test of professional competence and decree that some racial, religious, or political test is to be applied to teachers, the groups to which we have referred will soon, in various parts of the land, make it difficult for Negroes or Jews or Roman Catholics or agnostics or trade-unionists, as the case may be, to obtain or hold positions in the schools or other public institutions.

Playing Stalin's Game

These things represent and produce social strife, the rending of the fabric of American life. We have it on the authority of the hysterical anti-Communists that this is what Stalin and the Communists aim to bring about. The latter, of course, claim that they only have to give a little assistance to tendencies that are inherent in our "fake capitalistic democracy." Are we not doing a good deal to prove them right? Again, are we not playing directly into Stalin's hands?

Americans are often warned against totalitarian regimes on the ground that they discourage and destroy initiative. In an atmosphere of suspicion, repression, and terror nobody dares to make decisions, to assume responsibility, to try something new. Conformity and mediocrity become the rule. Americans are urged not to be like obedient and conforming Germans or like Communists who follow the party line slavishly and "have no minds of their own." All of us have known many examples in communities in which we have lived of how great the urge to conform to prevailing standards is even under what may be called normal conditions, how reluctant people are to "stick their necks out." The lack of moral courage on the part of most people is deplorable. But this makes it extremely important in a democratic society which wishes to

grow that initiative and independence in thinking and speech should be encouraged. And the intimidation, snooping, and hysteria which are now developing have the opposite effect.

The current repressive attitudes entail also a menace for higher education and research.

Not only are we creating a general atmosphere in which science cannot flourish, but in decreeing that no Communist Party member or "subversive" person may hold a fellowship from the Atomic Energy Commission even for work that is not remotely connected with military security, we may be depriving ourselves and our children of the fruits of specific constructive research. The young genius who finds the cure for cancer or a new way of dealing with mental disease or the way to develop atomic power for constructive purposes may have some unorthodox notions in social and political matters too.

These developments betray a sense of insecurity, a lack of faith in the democratic process and in American teachers and students, which obviously also serves to undermine democracy at a time when it is under attack. In an unusually pungent letter printed in *The New York Times* of July 15, 1949, John Ives Sewall, professor of art at the University of Buffalo, suggests that we are much more scared than we need to be, are alarming ourselves entirely need-

lessly about the general run of professors and students in American colleges. He writes in part: "College professors who put forward half-baked ideas do not get knocked down at once. But they are spotted by their colleagues much sooner than most people imagine, and lose their influence. This is the system of punishment inherent in the doctrine of academic freedom.

"In the second place, why is everyone worried about the undergraduates? Have they no brains? Must we visualize them as puppy dogs to be lured in by every bone?

"My own observation, after twenty years, three faculties, and three parts of the land, is this: You can stop worrying about the undergraduates. They are unbelievably difficult to corrupt, very moderate in action, and anxious to be well-informed. By and large, they are much more to be relied upon than their parents, who compensate for their extra experience

all too often by prejudice and habits of mind. You can urge anything at all upon the American college student: communism, atheism, and all the rest. He will then adequately safeguard the welfare of America in his own way and without supervision."

But of course if we begin to curtail free discussion, to try to "control thought," to spoon-feed American youth, then we shall presently not have the kind of students or teachers about whom Dr. Sewall wrote. And the fault will be our own. Once again we may remark that we shall have done Stalin's work of wrecking democracy for him.

Who Are the Totalitarians?

What is it that has brought about the invasion of civil liberties, the hysteria, the apparent lack of faith in the democratic process? There are many groups—employer, veteran, church, political—which ultimately believe in conformity and some form

Our Young People Take a Stand!

The young people at Westminster Fellowship National Council, July 4 to 10, 1949, passed a resolution concerning Communism. The resolution is a positive statement against the various manifestations of Communist hysteria evident to the young people on their college campuses, in Government circles and American community life. The resolution of the council also condemns "all forms of totalitarianism."

Resolved that Westminster Fellowship National Council, realizing that the present state of hysteria is threatening the existence of our democracy; that much of the condemnation of Communism is in reality the outpouring of our own self-righteousness; that those who believe that Christ is Lord need fear no ideas; we therefore condemn all forms of totalitarianism and mass hysteria. We believe the only effective way to combat them is to make Christianity a dynamic force in the political, social, economic, as well as the personal, relationships of life.

of authoritarianism rather than in nonconformity and democracy. A good many of those who cry out loudest against Communist indoctrination are not opposed to indoctrination at all. They don't want the Communists around because they want a monopoly on the indoctrinating that's done in this country.

There is also a long-standing tradition of resistance to tyranny, of impatience under controls of love for democracy, of respect for the individual, of a passion for experimentation especially in scientific, technical, and business fields. There is Emerson, Thoreau, and Walt Whitman. There is Thomas Jefferson. There is a sense in which the United States has been and is a "sweet land of liberty," and multitudes of Americans want it to remain that way.

Democracy's Divided Soul

When, therefore, civil liberties are violated and repressive measures taken, a conflict is set up in the minds and spirits of Americans. A psychological condition of insecurity sets in. People feel, though they may not be fully conscious of what is taking place in them, that they are being untrue to the idea of freedom.

In this age of persecution, terror, and atomic war, millions of people who thought they believed in humaneness, liberty, and peace have gone through this experience of shattering disillusionment. Ours, they have concluded—though many

shrink from admitting it even to themselves—is not an age in which these things can be; or, at any rate, if they are to survive, then we must be ready to resort to the most "realistic," i.e., ruthless means in order to defend them. The implication is that it may be, as the Soviet propagandists predict, "on the way out." Furthermore, no matter how firmly one who has been imbued with the attitudes and ideals of a free society may intellectually be convinced that it is necessary and "realistic" not to be "tolerant toward the intolerant," to use repression and perhaps even violence on a colossal scale against those who practice "the idea we hate," they cannot possibly do these things with the freedom from inhibitions, with the abandon, of convinced and admitted totalitarians. Within each of them and among them there is an endless debate as to just how far it is necessary to go. They cannot resort to "intolerance," suspend or compromise with democratic process without a suspicion lurking in the depths of their spirits that this is at least in some measure giving the case away to the enemy.

The totalitarians on their part have no such inhibitions. Their morale, as we have already suggested, is raised when the "democracies," on the one hand, engage in these discussions about liberty, freedom, and tolerance, and, on the other hand, abandon them in practice.

(Continued on page 26)

CHRIST ON THE PEIPING WAY

"When I was a student in high school, somebody gave me a New Testament. I read it through. I know nothing else about religion or Christianity—only this New Testament. I wanted to write a poem about Jesus because he understood what the Chinese people are fighting for. Jesus was a revolutionary. He loved the people. And he suffered for the sake of his loyalties."

These are the words of Mei Ch'ing ("Wheat in the Green"), the author of this striking poem. They alone are reason enough for any Christian or Communist to spend a few minutes reading this poem.

Mei Ch'ing was a student at a Chinese Christian college. A missionary student worker came to know him through his poem, published in an anthology, then personally. Two missionaries combined many hours of effort translating this from the Chinese for us. They say:

"The hours spent in translating this poem—and the English is as close to the imagery of the Chinese as we could make it—impressed us with the depth of feeling, the sincerity of expression, aroused by Jesus in this Chinese heart:

*"With her own hot blood and tears
Bathed her baby's body. . . .
Sun and stars, wind and rain, frost and snow
Stained his life with bright colors.*

"Readers familiar with the Hebrew poetic parallelism of the Bible will notice the similar balanced phrasing of the Chinese couplet. But the English rendition, no matter how strictly it be restrained within monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon, can hardly portray the utter simplicity of the Chinese, the spoken words of the common people.

JESUS

A Poem by Mei Ch'ing

In the days when the people of Israel were bitterly oppressed
He came to be born in Bethlehem town.
Mary his young mother
In her travail
With her own hot blood and tears
Bathed her baby's body.

There in that poor rude travelers' inn,
There in a tumble-down stable manger
Under the anguished moaning of his holy mother,
Jesus opened wide his earthly eyes.
His earliest cry as he entered the world—
Oh, it startled those sleeping travelers broad awake.

To flee the king's cruel slaughter of the children,
Close held to his holy mother's breast
He slipped away by starlight through city gates all barred.
Through their country's fields they wandered,
Staggering along together through difficult months and years.
Sun and stars, wind and rain, frost and snow
Stained his life with bright colors.

He grew to manhood
In the midst of those folk, good and evil;
He grew to manhood
In the midst of those folk, sly and simple.
His eyes beheld the bitter pain of the world of men:
How evil ones were holding all the power
While the good bowed their heads and uttered no sound;
How idle-handed, leisure-loving ones enjoyed their treasures,
While bitter-toiling laborers suffered hunger and cold.

And so it was he wanted to "judge" this world.
He raised on high the banner of love,
Spreading abroad a new gospel: good news of the Kingdom of God.

Down he went to the seashore,
And to the fishermen spreading their nets he said:
"Gather up your fishing nets;
No longer in these waters shall you be catching fish and shrimps.
Come, follow me!
Haul your own brothers up
From the fierce waves of the cruel wild sea."

Out he went to the open fields,
And to the sowers he said:
"Lay down your plows,
Cast aside the wheat seeds in the bag.
Come, follow me!
Plow up the thorny soil of human souls;
Sow seeds of the glad news,
Planting the empty fields of human hearts."

Then toward the emerald mountain forest he beckoned with his hand,
Hallooing to the shepherds winding their horns:
"Dear shepherds, scatter your masters' flocks;
Let them freely roam and browse;
Come, follow me!
Wind your beautiful horns
To herald the glad news of God's Kingdom.
To gather all those who have wandered from the way."

Even those tax collectors he did not cast out
And with compassionate words he spoke to them:
"You 'sinners'!
For the sake of the Pharisees' greedy hearts
You raid the storehouses of the people.
Toss away your evil moneybags!
Come, follow me!
Go gather your taxes from the lords of wealth.
For all their piled-up riches
Come from blackhearted scheming."

He called the gardeners also
And made engagements with the workers;
He gathered together those who by hand and brawn
Were earning their daily bread.
And earnestly to all of them
He spread the glad news of love.

Quickly those fishermen gathered up their nets;
Quickly those farmers threw down their plows;
Quickly those shepherds let go their sheep;
Quickly those tax collectors tossed away their moneybags.
And those who were called by him
All boldly left behind them father, mother, daughter, wife
To become for Jesus hands and feet.

Straightway they raised aloft the banner of love.
In the name of Christ they went forth calling;
Among all those possessed of illness and evil

Never did they cease their roaming and calling.
From market town to countryside they went,
From riverside to mountain hamlet;
Over barren deserts without smoke of man-made dwelling
To places teeming with human life.
They slept on the meadows in the frost and dew,
Drank water, rested by green well sides.
And wheresoever they went
The door of every household opened itself to let them in.
And those goodhearted housewives
All welcomed them with quiet smiling faces,
Heating warm water to bathe their feet,
And with their own hands anointing them with fragrant ointment.

Everywhere he went he healed the sick and suffering.
He said: "I want to make the blind to see,
I want to cause the dumb to speak,
I want to tell the lame to walk,
The dull to become wise,
The crippled to be straight."

And it all happened as he had said—
His words made lepers clean,
His blessing made weak men strong,
His curse awakened the demon-possessed.
The demons left the tortured ones
And fled into herds of swine and sheep.

He went to the Mount of Olives to preach his Way;
Like a high and holy God he went.
To the throngs who came to hear, like a dark night sea—
The suffering ones, the grievously wronged—
He proclaimed with a mighty cry:
"Happy are those who are natural and real like children:
The Kingdom of God belongs to them.
Happy are those who love their brothers as their own hands and feet:
For they will have peace of heart."

He took a few small fish and wheat cakes
And shared them with the hungry crowd.
And each received whatever he desired—
Neither much nor little, but all in equal fairness.
Everyone was happy over this bit of justice.
The sounds of their joyous hallooing
Shook the sunset valley—
From four sides came the echoes ringing.

He went into the holy Temple
And cast out those made rich by the use of God's name.
He kicked away their money counters
And let their doves go free.
He laughed at those breast-beating, loud-praying pious fellows:
"O hypocrites!
You have pored over the Ten Commandments of Moses
And by your actions broken two times five of them."

So his fame spread outward to the eight directions.
Wherever there was smoke of human habitation
Light broke at the mention of his name;
In the deep places of the heart were born new visions.
Yet those Pharisees

Hated him as they hated goodness.
And the devils, still more deeply, envied him.
Wherever he went they cried out against him,
For then they had no place to hide.

And so those money lords,
Those sanctimonious Pharisees
Who used God's name to gather in their wealth,
Who lacked the simple childlike heart,
Who hated and despoiled their own brothers—
All these denounced him as a heretic,
Claiming he wanted to be Israel's King,
Scheming how to heap more slander on him
That he might then be nailed upon a cross.

And so they used their sin-begotten money
To buy that faithless disciple of his,
Judas, who went and sold his soul.
And then at dusk one night, by the sign of a kiss,
An armed guard under orders
Seized upon Jesus as they would a thief.

They pushed him along to the courtroom
And using a dampened whiplash
Secretly put him to torture;
With evil and venomous words
Publicly they maligned him.
They took a crimson-flowered thorn plant
And plaiting it into a crown,
They pressed it down upon his flowing hair.
Then with many a threat they forced upon his shoulders
The burden of that heavy cross on which they were to nail him.

At last above that red and sandy earth
Jesus was nailed upon a cross.
His fresh blood drop by drop fell down
Soaking deep into the soil of Israel.

Enduring that bitter agony to the end, he died,
But he had left a startling prophecy:

“I shall live again,
Forever live!

The final verdict is with me.”

The sound of that cry was full and strong
As if heaven cracked and earth split open:
His friends listened, and rejoiced;
His enemies listened, and trembled.

After all this had happened
His true and loyal followers,
Their faces darkly covered,
Journeyed to ten thousand places and ten thousand peoples,
Announcing in his name:
“Jesus’ blood is shed;
The Kingdom of God is coming!”



MARCH 12, 1950

ONE GREAT HOUR OF SHARING

CHURCHES and religious groups across the nation will unite again this year on Sunday, March 12, in the 1950 concerted appeal for overseas relief and reconstruction and interchurch aid to war-ravaged lands and peoples. "One Great Hour of Sharing" has been chosen as the theme, and the active listening participation of the members of 100,000 local churches will be enlisted by radio appeals and by means of television and radio transcriptions.

This great hour of sharing builds upon the success of the "One Great Hour" appeal of March last year when over three million dollars was raised by America's religious forces for relief and reconstruction.

This year the event will begin with a series of radio programs which will be climaxed on Saturday evening, March 11, in a great nation-wide broadcast. It will culminate in the hour of sharing on Sunday morning, March 12, when the col-

lection of funds will take place in the participating churches.

Presbyterian churches will begin their participation one month earlier, on February 12, when Presbyterian families throughout the nation will be asked to serve one or more sacrificial meals each week using an austerity menu comparable to the regular daily diet of fellow Christians overseas. The difference between the cost of the sacrificial meal and the average American dinner would then be added to the offering on Sunday, March 12.

Promotional posters and pamphlets, special collection envelopes, a radio listener's guide, will be provided for each local congregation. Dr. William N. Wysham, of The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, has been asked to serve as chairman of the promotional committee for our denomination. Each denomination will promote its own program as a part of the total campaign.

NO CVA

By MARSHALL N. DANA, *editor, editorial page, Oregon Journal, Portland.*

The author is one of the leading spokesmen of the opposition to legislation for the establishment of a Columbia Valley Administration. We welcome his contribution to the pages of SOCIAL PROGRESS concerning this issue confronting the American people. An article by C. Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, presenting the case for CVA, appeared in SOCIAL PROGRESS, November, 1949.

VITAL in the concept of American democracy is a proposition written into the Declaration of Independence—government by consent of the governed.

The proposed Columbia Valley Authority, or Administration, would violate this principle by interposing between the Columbia basin states, their people, and the Federal Government, a subnational agency resulting from no plebiscite of the people and no compact of the states.

CVA would set up a control of the economy, and thus of all other interests in the Pacific Northwest in which the people would lack an authoritative voice and in which the hearing of their appeals and protests could be a feudal form of patronage and indulgence, but without effect on the program for the region and without consideration of the jeopardy of its individual citizens.

Had the Columbia basin eroded land and eroded people past the hope of self-redemption, then the CVA form of benevolent overhead total-

itarianism (if totalitarianism can ever be benevolent) might be used to meet emergency with the same absolutism as is exercised in a state of war. But the emergency does not exist. The Columbia basin is new. Its people are virile, vigorous, capable of self-government. This is not the kind of region, nor are we the kind of people, that needs the overlordship of a CVA.

Nor is the utilization of natural resources backward. Development of the region is proceeding at the swiftest rate in the century and a half that the Pacific Northwest has been objective in the westward movement of the nation. The increase of population outstrips any of the forecasts made since the hegira of the covered wagon more than a century ago. Oregon's population has increased by half in the past ten years. Washington's is only slightly less.

The great construction agencies of the Federal Government have been preparing. The United States engineers have built Bonneville dam and

power plant, and are bringing near to completion McNary dam on the Columbia and the series of dams and of power and flood control works comprising the Willamette Valley project. The Bureau of Reclamation has built Grand Coulee, the greatest of all the power plants, and the first lands of the million-acre Columbia basin project are being occupied. From Grand Coulee half a dozen pipes are being erected which will carry pumped water for irrigation over the cliff into the ancient channel of the Columbia and thus to thirsty lands greater in area than some Eastern states. Any one of these pipes will carry a billion gallons a day, more than the total water consumption of Greater New York. Other projects in eastern Oregon, southern Idaho, and Montana are doing the thing that the Federal Government should do—creating the area of opportunity in which Americans can do things for themselves rather than doing things for them in the spirit of paternalism which is against the spirit of Americanism. The Bonneville Power Administration is doing an excellent job of distributing power on a Pacific Northwest grid.

Reports of the Army engineers and the joint reports of engineers, reclamation service, soil conservation, forest service, and other agencies point the way toward further development undertaken by the co-ordination which ends duplications and overlappings and is the fair and

efficient way to program the growth of the region. The politically named board of C V A would have no such background and experience.

It is proper that the Federal Government should, as a good steward owning more than 50 per cent of the land and water of the Columbia basin states, develop the power, control the floods, improve the navigation, reclaim the arid lands, manage the public forests by sustained yield practices, and check the erosion of the soil. The way the work is being done, knit by closer co-operation, is not only the answer to the need for orderly development, but is considerably related to the interests of the states. Pacific Northwest states now feel great apprehension that their own rights in water will be invaded by a C V A and these rights cannot in decency be abrogated.

Further, the development of the Columbia basin is going ahead, accelerated by the investments of private capital. Industries that manufacture iron, steel, aluminum, metallic clays, wood products, grain, meats, fruits, and vegetables into marketable form are rising in countless communities. Business buildings are going up, transportation by highway, rail, and air is being extended, and opportunity, American style, beckons. If it be offense to the Columbia Valley zealots to stand for private enterprise, initiative, incentive, and investment, then this writer is indeed an offender. A chance for producers,

workers, and investors in their self-selected activities and privately owned homes and enterprises is far more appealing than the prospect of the numbered stooges of bureaucracy moving in their directed routines having need only to obey and not to think because that is done for them.

The outlook for workers under a CVA is indeed unhappy. Section 15-a of S. 1645, the Administration's CVA bill, directs that "the administration [CVA] shall, without regard to the civil service laws and the classification act of 1923, as amended, except the veterans' preference act of 1944 to the extent it otherwise is applicable, employ and fix the compensation of such officers, employees, attorneys, agents, and consultants."

Harry B. Mitchell, president of the Civil Service Commission, protested: "The exemption of an agency from the civil service laws causes a duplication of effort with respect to recruitment of Government personnel with resulting loss of economy and efficiency."

Interestingly enough, Harry Mitchell is father of Representative Hugh M. Mitchell, co-author of the CVA bill.

The measure also provides CVA broad power to hire and fire at will not only regardless of civil service, but, if it chooses, without dealing with organized labor. The act proposes that the CVA board deal col-

lectively with employees but does not require it.

CVA would also be authorized to perform all major construction on a force account basis as TVA does. Section 14 of the bill says that contracts for supplies or services shall be made on an advertising and bid plan, but gives the board power to throw out any and all bids and do the work itself. It follows that the CVA board could hire and fire at will, could fix wages and working conditions, and could build all projects itself without contracts with organized labor or building contractors.

In SOCIAL PROGRESS for November, C. Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, who was assigned the task of spearheading the drive of the Truman Administration for a CVA, says:

"The proposed CVA would absorb the Bureau of Reclamation, the civil works functions of the Corps of Engineers, and the Bonneville Power Administration in the Pacific Northwest. However, all other Federal agencies, including the Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, would retain their independent status."

In the course of hearings before the Senate Public Works Committee at the time Governor Arthur B. Langlie, of Washington, was testifying against the CVA bill, Senator Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, cosponsor of S. 1645, was asked by Senator Harry P. Cain, of Wash-

ington, whether or not C V A would take over the other thirteen agencies if they did not co-operate with C V A. This was Senator Magnuson's answer: "They [C V A] would not take over the agencies. They would take over the job."

To quote again from Mr. Davidson's article in SOCIAL PROGRESS:

"As one would expect, the opposition to the C V A bill comes from the people who have always been opposed to conservation and who have sought to exploit the resources of the public domain for selfish interests. In the forefront as always are the private utility corporations, the power lobbies. As is their custom, they are operating behind front organizations financed largely by them, such as the development associations, reclamation associations, and water users protective councils recently organized in the Northwest mainly for the purpose of defeating the C V A bill. The railroads too have been contributing to these front outfits and some chambers of commerce have fallen in line. These are the people who want to be let alone so that they can exploit the wealth that rightfully belongs to all the people."

This writer, holding no brief for the utilities, the railroads, and the alleged "front" organizations, unsubsidized and wholly independent of them, wishes to meet Assistant Secretary Davidson's challenge above head-on. The newspaper that he represents, the *Oregon Journal* of

Portland, has worked for many years for the development of reclamation, power, navigation, and flood control. The writer was appointed in 1932 by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt as regional adviser in the recovery program for the Pacific Northwest states of Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, and subsequently became district chairman of the National Resources Board and chairman of the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Association. He was the first president of the National Reclamation Association and served four terms in this capacity.

The interests of the people in the Pacific Northwest will not be adequately protected if from them is taken their own right to have a directing influence in the development of the region. The C V A agitation has had its value in emphasizing the need for co-ordination of existing agencies and the joint budgeting by the Congress of their needs. The point is well made that fishery should be better provided for and defended. The continuance to completion of authorized projects without interruption because of political or other causes cannot be overemphasized.

But the plan to divide the United States into a group of valley authorities over which the people would have no control would produce the machinery of political and economic absolutism. It is a design of planned economy that has in it more of Russia than America.

TRAINING FOR WORLD CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

FORTY-FIVE Presbyterian lay leaders, educators, and ministers attended a United Nations seminar and "Christian Faith and Foreign Policy" conference at Lake Success and New York City, November 18 and 19. They came as representatives of social education and action leadership in the synods, synodicals, presbyteries, and presbyterials. A college student represented one of the Youth Synods of Westminster Fellowship. College and university professors and members of the Board of Christian Education and the Counseling Committee of S E A also participated.

The seminar program began with a visit to the General Assembly at Flushing Meadows, where President Carlos P. Romulo was presiding with all of his customary verve. Most members of the seminar group were visiting the United Nations for the first time. They were impressed with the careful adherence to democratic procedures, the gathering of delegates of the fifty-nine member countries, and the members of the United Nations Secretariat who represented many countries and races. UN's global aspect was also evident in the battery of reporters from the press services of the world—Tass, Reuters, United Press, and the five groups of translators who rendered almost simultaneous translations of all the

proceedings into English, Spanish, French, Russian, and Chinese. Delegates and visitors wore earphones and at each chair there was a small short-wave radio dial which could be flicked with the finger from one of the five official languages to another.

The afternoon session began with a special briefing conference in one of the United Nations committee rooms, conducted by J. B. Orrick, of the Department of Public Information and Chief of the Section for Nongovernmental Agencies.

Mr. Orrick explained the general setup of the United Nations, the General Assembly, the standing committees of the General Assembly, the Commissions, and the Security Council. The Secretariat of the United Nations is international and interracial, representative of the Governments of the member agencies. All take an oath not to be influenced by any one Government, and are indeed employees and citizens of the world.

The Security Council is in permanent session. According to its charter, it must meet every two weeks. All meetings of General Assembly and the various councils and commissions are open meetings, with the exception of possible executive sessions on atomic energy and certain matters of military security. But even a closed session is attended by a

member' of the public information staff, with a mandate to prepare public communiqués to be issued to the world's presses. It is true that there are certain risks in open debates and covenants made within full public view; but the Secretariat believes that these risks are worth taking. Mr. Orrick also observed that every problem of world significance has been handled with some degree of satisfaction in UN circles, except that of the control of atomic energy, and he believes that even this highly controversial subject will eventually be handled if people do not become too impatient and press for immediate solutions.

Mrs. Lakshmi Mandan Menon, Chief of the Section of the Status of Women of the Human Rights Division, was a vivacious and vibrant speaker from India.

"Around the world complete equality between the sexes exists in only a few places," said Mrs. Menon. Although most of the world is coming to have a greater acceptance of the ideal, it is not generally practiced. The commission operates under the Economic and Social Council and is concerned about various kinds of discrimination against women, and existing inequalities in education, economic opportunity, lack of nationality status, and property rights. The Section confines itself to study, research, and presentation of recommendations to the Economic and Social Council.



Mrs. Lakshmi Mandan Menon, Chief, Status of Women Section, Human Rights Division, U N Department of Social Affairs, who addressed members of U N Seminar.

These are in turn presented to the General Assembly, and carried to the national groups represented to be implemented in national governmental action.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, was the third speaker at the briefing session. She reviewed the work of the commission and gave a progress report on the drafting of the covenant of human rights, which really implements the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted Dec., 1948. Her wise and understanding comments about the many procedural difficulties, the complicated matter of finding words and expres-

sions of ideas which would be acceptable to the majority, the conflict of ideological and religious differences, not to mention conflicting legal points of view, made all aware of the magnitude of the task confronting the United Nations Commission.

Mrs. Roosevelt stated that it is extremely important for the United States to ratify this document. "No nation questions the economic and military leadership of the United States, but in spiritual and moral leadership other nations do question whether we as a nation live up to what we say we believe. The ratification of the covenant of human rights by this country is something that the world is watching. And it would be illogical and hypocritical to ratify the United Nations Covenant and not accept at least part of the President's civil rights program."

The evening session began with a dinner meeting at the Riverside Church in New York. Dr. Frederick H. Harbison, of the University of Chicago, spoke of the university's group dynamic and adult education program, developed to train leaders of local trade-unions in democratic leadership, to stimulate greater interest and participation on the part of union members. A fundamental question which has to be faced in all organizational life is the lack of active membership participation. Churches, unions, and all organizations today must find new ways and means of involving every person in

group activity. It is only through active lay participation that the Church's program of social education and action can come alive.

Mrs. Vera M. Dean, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, was the evening speaker on American foreign policy in Europe. Following her stimulating talk and penetrating observations on the Point Four Program, the Marshall Plan and world trade, she lingered with the group to answer dozens of questions.

Dr. John Leighton Stuart, United States ambassador to China, addressed the seminar group the following morning, commenting on America's foreign policy in the Orient, American-Soviet relations in China.

This United Nations Seminar stressed the importance of lay participation throughout the Church in determining Christian policy for the world. It was also a significant part of the continuing program of leadership training sponsored by the Division of Social Education and Action. New leaders are being continuously recruited and trained to aid the Division staff in meeting the demand for workshops, conferences, and study groups in local churches and presbyteries. Plans are being developed to increase these training opportunities in the year ahead so that all social education and action leaders and associates may eventually have some seminar or conference experience. —Margaret E. Kuhn.

An App

"THE TIME IS GREAT"

"These are times that try men's souls" is the true testimony of all "times." This prevailing concern is due to the proportions of life, and confronts every man who reflects on his relations to his fellow man, God's way with him, his own eternal destiny. But we who enter the last half of the twentieth century in the atomic age surely face burdens too heavy for the spirit of man to bear. All ages past must stand amazed before the dreadful burden of our time, estimating the chance that future generations have of inheriting disaster or blessedness from us.

Perhaps those who through exploration first entered the new world of the West or who through science came into the new world of steam, knew that these things meant well for man—and gave thanks. But the world of the atom broke upon us in the violence of 100,000 deaths. Man must search his own heart and mind, devoting both to God, if this elemental power is to be turned from death to life. This is the choice before our generation.

The time is great

(What times are little? To the sentinel

That hour is regal when he mounts on guard.)

—George Eliot.

A TIME TO THINK

LET us understand the Preacher's words (Eccl. 3: 7), "A time to keep silence," to mean a time to think. Decisions we must make this year require time for careful, prayerful examination of important questions in the light of our Christian faith. And we cannot have someone else do our thinking for us—not in a Christian democracy. It is reported that the emperor Franz Josef of Austria attempted even this, and disposed of his most difficult problems by announcing, "I must have that matter thought about later." He lost his kingdom!

Fortunately we have many competent men and groups offering their assistance in our search for wisdom. However, there is no official, no "expert," no department in Washington, no favorite minister, no general assembly, that can relieve us of the responsibility and labor of doing our own thinking. It is said that Confucius often sent away disciples who did not show sufficient zeal for knowledge or reveal enough intelligence to under-

to Faith

stand him. "When," he said, "I have shown a pupil one corner of a subject, and he is unable to discover the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."

We have reduced the physical labor of man. We have transferred heavy loads from man's back to the machine. But the multiplication of machines and discovery of new sources of physical power have made greater burdens for man's soul and placed a greater tax upon his spiritual energy. A comparison of the labor of the driver of an ox team and the pilot of an air liner flying faster than sound illustrates the way we have reduced the labor but increased the "burden." Everywhere there are evidences of this toll of "labor saving" machines and drain of effort-reducing sources of power. Russia reports it is moving mountains with atomic energy, even as we do. But what of the growing burden of suspicion, fear, and hatred that atomic energy lays on the heart of man? This is the "mountain" that only faith and the works of faith can remove. The works of faith include a searching inquiry into our response to Jesus' invitation to seek, ask, and knock: "For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened."

ARMAMENT BUDGET

The total figure of our Government's armament budget given in the December issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* is made up of the following items and amounts:

Appropriations for the National Military Establishment (including Contract Authorizations) (Public Law 343) :	\$15,585,863,498
Atomic Energy Research Development (including Contract Authorizations) (Public Law 266) :	1,090,120,397
Appropriations for Selective Service System (Public Law 266) :	8,500,000
Military Assistance Program (Public Law 329) :	1,314,010 000
Total	<u>\$17,998,493,895</u>

(This does not include the appropriation of \$638,056,190 for civil functions of the Army—rivers, harbors, Panama Canal, U. S. veterans homes. etc.—Public Law 355.)

—Paul Newton Poling.

The Communists and Civil Liberties

(Continued from page 9)

Such reflections point to the conclusion that the democratic forces need to take the offensive, to find a positive, imaginative, creative way to meet the situation. The only way democracy can be defended is by the resolution practice of democracy.

In a number of fields the basic strategy is that of removing the conditions in which Communism (or Fascism) grows and upon which Communist propagandists capitalize.

This applies, for example, to our economic life. We have to make a decent standard of living possible for the masses of the people. They need security, above all, against unemployment. The unemployed are the prey and the soldiers of totalitarians in every land. Extremes of wealth and poverty are not conducive to the maintenance of democracy, as Jefferson long ago pointed out. Through unions or other associations and through freedom of political action and suitable political instruments men and women in agriculture, industry, and the professions have to be able to feel that they have a genuine say in the decisions that affect their livelihood. The other freedoms are illusory for people who are slaves or serfs in the economic realm. The organization of life on a co-operative basis ought to be encouraged.

The same approach applies in the field of race relations. The provision of genuine equality for Negroes and other minority groups would create a sense in this country of such moral and social well-being as would cause the members of these groups and millions of others to laugh Communist propaganda against democracy off the stage in no time. The Churches ought to ponder the possibilities in an immediate large-scale campaign against all segregation and discrimination as perhaps the most effective single contribution they can make to the campaign against Communism both in this country and abroad.

In the field of civil liberties the affirmation and extension—not the denial or compromise—of democracy ought to be our policy. For reasons that have already been explicitly stated or suggested, all the special measures against Communists and other “subversive” groups or individuals in the field of thought, speech, writing, and association ought to be abandoned or revoked. This includes loyalty oaths and tests, attempts to outlaw the Communist Party as such, application of racial, religious, or political standards in hiring or firing teachers and Government employees, discharging people from jobs for political reasons, attempts to control thought.

In these matters there must be no limits and exceptions. It is not possible, for example, to teach the his-

tory of the United States without teaching about revolution and the right of people to rebel against rulers or a system. This is true, among other things, because you cannot teach the history of the United States and leave out the Declaration of Independence, certain writings of Thomas Jefferson, and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

Can the People Be Trusted?

It is not possible to give American youth an idea of the kind of world they live in without teaching a good deal about Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and about the world Communist movement and Russia. The question, of course, is then bound to come up: "If we have unlimited freedom for the expression of serious opinion on social and political questions and the right of association is extended even to the Communist Party, is it not possible that Communism might be established in this country? The answer seems to me to be either that we have or shall at some time have the conditions that make substantial numbers of people feel that Communism is desirable, or we shall not have such conditions. If we do have them, then Communism will be prevented only at cost of civil war and the setting up of a counterdictatorship, which is the sort of thing that happened in Germany, Japan, and Italy. Is that what we want? The basic attack on Communism, as already stated, is by way of removing

the conditions on which it thrives. If this is not to be done, then it is quite possible that it would be just as well to let Communism win the allegiance of large numbers of people by the ordinary processes of propaganda and avoid the frightful cost that would be involved in setting up a counterdictatorship.

On the other hand, if conditions that make Communism attractive to substantial sections of the population do not exist, then it will not grow—unless you believe that the American people have virtually no sense at all. In that case there is, of course, no basis for democracy and we may as well elect our Stalin at once. Yet even in that event those who would like to see the *status quo* or something like it maintained in the United States might be smart if they let sleeping dogs lie, i.e., did not give Communists a gratuitous talking point by suppressing their civil liberties.

Freedom to Criticize Communism

Freedom of speech means freedom of speech for Communists and also for anti-Communists and non-Communists, freedom for the exposition of Communism and freedom for the merciless criticism of Communism on religious, philosophical, ethical, economic, and political grounds. Under conditions of free discussion—there might be more rather than less criticism of Communism.

Many intellectuals and religious leaders have refrained from criticism of Communism and Russian policy during the war on grounds of expediency. Russia was needed as an ally and you must not offend an ally.

Furthermore, these Americans are surely obligated to ask themselves to what extent they may themselves be responsible for the Communist infiltration about which they now tend to become hysterical and whether if that was a mistake they may not now be making another and perhaps more serious one in proposing to curtail civil liberties and run the risk of transforming America into a police state in the effort to combat Communist infiltration.

Other Americans have refrained from criticism of Communism though aware of, and being careful not to deny, its faults, on the ground that there was already plenty of criticism and even factual and restrained criticism would further inflame anti-Soviet hysteria and stir up more bad feeling.

Do We Go Along with Fellow Travelers?

Then there are Americans who are not Communist Party members but who believe that capitalism is outworn, that imperialism is a supreme evil, and that Communism in undertaking to overthrow capitalism and imperialism is "the most effective progressive and liberating force in the world." They give it their sup-

port, therefore, and in doing so will condone or approve or rationalize away aggressive actions, terrorism, forced labor, when practiced by Russia while condemning similar developments in Fascist or capitalist countries. There is no inconsistency in insisting, on the one hand, on complete freedom of expression for those who hold "the thought we hate" and, on the other hand, in showing the world that they do hold the thought we hate.

No United Fronting

The battle for democracy and in particular for civil liberties can be effectively waged only by those who are genuine believers in these liberties, who do not make exceptions, and who maintain their intellectual integrity. I think this means that it is not possible to work effectively in this cause—and in my opinion this holds good for other causes also such as world peace—through "united fronts" in organizational collaboration with Communists and the Communist Party. This may seem a curious and contradictory position for one to take who insists upon the utmost freedom of expression and association for Communists. Nevertheless, I am convinced that for libertarians the position is logical and essential. To permit people to work for what one believes are evil ends commits one to working against that end, not to working with them for that end.

Anti-authoritarians, Unite!

The corollary of these observations constitutes the final suggestion in this discussion of domestic policy. It is essential in the struggle against totalitarianism and for the preservation of democracy that all the leading non-Communist elements in educational circles, farm organizations, unions, churches, women's organizations, persons who are unequivocally committed to the principles of free expression and association, should immediately find a way to put themselves on record against the current repressive activities, for a positive and imaginative practice of democracy, and then should devise effective ways of working for these ends. Unless these elements get to work at once the cause of freedom is doomed—in other words, the authoritarians will have won.

It seems to me that we have to face the fact that if what lies ahead is essentially global war and preparation for it, then the struggle for democracy, including civil liberties, is bound to continue to be a "rear-guard action" and a losing one at that. The American—or democratic, or Western—way of life as we have known it will be replaced by some form of totalitarianism, assuming that the nation survives at all.

It is impossible to wage modern war or to prepare for atomic and biological war without placing dictatorial power in the hands of the

executive of the nation and the military. In this connection, the bill for military aid to Europe presented to Congress last summer following the Senate ratification of the Atlantic Pact furnishes an interesting revelation. There was a section in that bill as submitted by the State Department under which the President would have been authorized to give assistance to any nation on his own judgment alone. "Nation" was defined as "any foreign Government or country or group thereof; or any representatives or group of the people however constituted, designated as a 'nation' by the President." The bill specifically said that he need not report in connection with such expenditure anything "the disclosure of which he deems incompatible with the security of the United States." A commentator, pointing out further that the President's powers under the bill are undefined and unlimited, says: "He can start anything. He can stop everything. He can raise governors of other nations, subsidize their parties, enlist their armies, and disband their Governments."

This commentator added that no Congress in its senses would pass the bill as presented and that in supplying military assistance to Europe we must proceed "as a democracy preserving democratic means to secure the ends of liberty." The section under discussion was deleted by the State Department under pressure from Congressional leaders. But the

commentator we have quoted is optimistic and perhaps naïve. The significant and disastrous fact is that the State Department did present such a bill to Congress; nor was it the first time such a grant of power in connection with military aid has been proposed. *The New York Times* in commenting editorially that it had been "tactically" unwise to present the bill in this form at this time and thus implying that such a grant of powers and the timing of the grant is under existing world conditions a matter of tactics, and thus also implying that the matter is far from dead, was much more realistic. Inevitably, if we move toward total war, this concentration of power will come.

The Scientists' Dilemma

The scientists face the same kind of dilemma. They want freedom to investigate and experiment for themselves and they want the field of secret material as limited as possible since they know there is no democracy unless the people make the basic policy decisions and they cannot do that unless they have adequate information. But neither the scientists nor the statesmen gave the American people any chance, of course, to share in the decision whether the atomic bomb should be made and, when made, used under the prevailing conditions. The people—and probably Congress—have no real knowledge now of what weapons are being forged in their name, what the orders

and attitudes are of American commanders and soldiers in the touchy spots around the globe where American and Russian forces or those of their allies face each other, orders and attitudes which will determine whether or not the "incidents" occur which precipitate war. If the people are ignorant of the facts and unable to determine policy in such matters, how can we say that democracy survives if the present trend continues?

Furthermore, as John Foster Dulles, perhaps inadvertently, pointed out in his maiden speech in the Senate on the Atlantic Pact, Government officials discuss measures to develop what they deem the required degree of concern, i.e., fright, in order to conserve the national interest—sometimes painting the picture blacker, sometimes fairer. We may also remark in passing that if a nation vastly more powerful in a military sense than any nation ever has been—armed with a stockpile of atomic weapons and with half of the wealth of the entire world in its hands—is frightened, the question arises whether nations do not as a matter of psychological fact frighten themselves into war. However that may be, democracy plainly cannot survive in the conditions of fright and exploitation of fright, of hysteria, spontaneous or induced, without which wars cannot be prepared for and fought.

George Orwell, in his novel *1984*, presents the picture of the society

toward which the world is moving. Three completely militarized totalitarian states are all that survive. They are in a state of perpetual war with each other. The masses have by various means been made into docile automatons, leading a pretty miserable existence but with no slightest impulse to rebel. Power is in the hands of the dictator, known as Big Brother in the state in which the scene of Orwell's novel is laid, and in subordinate ways in the party members. They too, however, have been completely denuded of the will or means to think for themselves. Power they want for the sake of power, purely for itself, and so no other end or emotion ever tempts them to forego power or the exercise of cruelty, "senseless" cruelty which is obviously the proof that one has "naked" power. It is highly germane to our entire argument to point out that ironically, but with deep discernment, Orwell pictures the scientists who are working on the production of more and more destructive weapons as the only persons who have any freedom in this society of the future.

Now whatever may be the truth as to whether and how long such a society as Orwell pictures might endure, it is clear that this nightmare is not a democratic society; it has no resemblance to the America of the American dream. It is also beyond successful dispute, I think, that if we move into atomic and biological

war and become militarized and regimented as that will require, then this is the kind of society we shall become. It may be there are those who want to incur the expense, the suffering, and the guilt involved in such a war for the survival of the American power state in the stark physical sense, no matter that degradation may result for human beings in our own and other lands. If so, let them frankly say so. Let them not imitate the totalitarian propagandists and call this a war for democracy. Let the people understand that if the way to war is followed, then in this respect also we shall be "doing Stalin's work for him." Let American intellectuals understand that if they serve as agents of a war policy or war preparation of the American power state, they are playing the game of the totalitarians, no matter how eloquently they may condemn the Stalinist labor camps, the purges of Russian scientists and intellectuals, or the subservience of the latter before the almighty party and the all-highest dictator.

To say that we can by no means have both war and democracy is admittedly to pose a hard problem, a tragic dilemma. Trying to ignore or deny it will not solve the problem or remove the dilemma. Democracy cannot be saved by a "rear-guard action." It has to take the offensive. Democratic nations can be saved only by living their creeds radiantly and imaginatively.

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By JAMES D. SMART, *Ph.D.*, Associate Secretary, Division of Education in Home, Church, and Community, and Editor in Chief for Curricular Materials.

TWO events have served to draw unusual attention to the subject of religion and the public schools. The first was the startling decision of the Supreme Court in the Mrs. Vashti McCollum case. An atheist protested against the effect upon her son of children in the public school being separated for religious instruction. The Supreme Court decreed that it was wrong for any public-school building or its facilities to be used for the teaching of religion. The second event has been the drive of the Roman Catholic Church to get a share in the proposed Federal aid for public schools and the consequent Protestant actions to prevent the subsidizing of private schools with taxpayers' money.

Reactions to these events have been widely varied, not merely in the population as a whole but even among the people of our Churches. There are some who feel great satisfaction with the present developments. Their concern is to keep religion from getting mixed up with the State and its educational institutions. They regard complete separation of Church and State as one of the

glories of our society and are confident that, as long as the two are separate, things will go well with both.

There are others, however, whose reaction is one of frustration. They have set their hopes for some years upon making the teaching of religion an integral part of education in the schools. They do not see any other way in which it can be taught effectively and they point to the hundreds of thousands of children who are not likely to have any moral or spiritual training unless they get it in the schools. But now the door seems to be closed.

Some of the Satisfactions

We shall do well to examine closely both of these reactions and the ideas that lie behind them. First, the attitude of satisfaction: All of us, in our haste to reach conclusions, fall an easy prey for oversimplified formulas. It saves us from the difficulty and perplexity of grappling with the complex factors that lie under the surface of the problem. No Protestant worthy of the name can

fail to rejoice in the decision of the founders of this nation to maintain equal rights for all religious bodies prohibiting none but also sanctioning none. It must have been a great surprise to the papal diplomats in 1783, when they asked the Government's permission for the sending of a new apostolic vicar to the United States, to receive the reply that since the matter was purely spiritual the Congress had no authority either to permit or to refuse the request. The actions of Episcopalians in the pre-Revolutionary days in attempting to secure for themselves the authority of a State Church in America had made very plain to most people the importance of maintaining equal freedom for all religious bodies.

The Responsibility of Christians

But when one has said this, he has not said the last word on the subject. The Christian who rejoices in his right to worship as he pleases is also a citizen of the State and responsible for the actions of the State of which he is a part. If he is truly a Christian, he acknowledges the Lordship of Jesus Christ over his life not merely in a special religious sphere but in the entire range of his activities and decisions. Unless he holds to this, he will have life divided into two compartments: a religious one in which he has Christ as his Lord and a secular one in which he gives his allegiance to principles that are in

contradiction to any thoroughgoing Christian faith. Yet this dividing of life into isolated compartments is often the consequence among our people of a superficial separation of Church and State. Much thought needs to be given to the Biblical doctrine of the Lordship of Jesus Christ not only over his Church but over the entire life of man. Can Christians deny the Lordship of Christ over the State without delivering up wide areas of their own lives to other lords?

You Can't Keep Religion Out

The simple fact is that in none of our human activities, neither in affairs of State nor in our educational systems, can you keep religion out. All our human actions proceed from some principle and the principle is rooted in a faith. If it is not the Christian faith, then it will be some other faith and we will do well to know what it is. This is excellently illustrated in what is happening in our schools.

People think that by prohibiting any arrangements for the teaching of the Christian religion in schools they are neutralizing the question of religion in the school. Their idea is that the school should be noncommittal on the whole matter. They would do well to read more carefully the writings of such educational leaders as John Dewey, Boyd H. Bode, and others. These men who have led the

way in the rethinking of educational principles and who have done so much to shape the character of American education are under no delusion about the importance of religion. They are fully aware that the question of religion is inescapable and that no essential changes can take place in human life without a change on the deepest level where decisions are made which involve a man's entire existence.

One of the great achievements of Dewey and his followers has been to show that education is not to be considered as a purely intellectual matter, a shaping of the mind which can take place in isolation from a person's other basic concerns. They claim the whole man for education and they take as their aim the shaping of his entire life in order that he may take the place which they see to be his rightful place in a democratic society. Neither Dewey nor Bode make any secret of their repudiation of the Christian religion. With their conviction that no knowledge is worthy of the name unless it is the result of experiment they dismiss most of the doctrines of Christianity as theological moonshine. They are quite prepared, however, to work out a religion on an experimental basis which they are convinced should be acceptable to any intelligent man and therefore has the possibility of becoming the world religion of the new era which they have inaugurated.

Supremacy of Science

A recent article on "Pragmatism in Education," by Boyd H. Bode, in *The New Republic* of October 17, 1949, makes very clear the new claim. He says: "Either science and scientific method must be made to stay within their appointed bounds and keep their profane hands off moral and spiritual values, or they must be given sovereignty—in all cases of conflict they must have the last word. . . . The scientific method becomes the only final road to truth." It is a strange note of authoritarianism which sounds in these words. The scientist has become impatient with the religious superstitions that interfere with an orderly handling of human affairs. He is confident that with his experimentalism he has discovered a means of securing the only dependable truth in all areas of life; therefore, he demands "sovereignty" for the scientific educators and he makes very clear that they are prepared to settle not only questions of education for the general populace but also to take over the sphere of morals and religion as well.

Can Schools Be Neutral?

If convictions such as these are to be found passionately espoused by prominent educational leaders of our day, we must ask what likelihood there is of the schools remaining re-

ligiously neutral. We may depend upon it that there will be religion in the schools but not necessarily Christian religion. There will be religious teaching implicit in much other teaching but there is the possibility that it may be some other religion than the Christian one.

Protestants would do well to read a little book called *Testimonial to Grace* written by Avery Dulles, who was converted to the Roman Catholic Church and became a Jesuit priest. He tells how in a New England school he became an atheist, not through anyone deliberately undertaking to make him an atheist, but through the character of the teaching which he was receiving in the ordinary subjects of his course. The assumption throughout was that no intelligent person any longer took seriously a Christian interpretation of life. At once one recognizes the attitude that is central in Dewey and Bode and which we may assume is exerting a wide influence in American education. In summarizing we may say that a man has to be blind to present realities to think that he can neutralize the school so far as religion is concerned by merely asserting once more the doctrine of the separation of Church and State.

Religion in History

A further consideration arises for anyone who tries to understand our whole civilization in the light of its

origins. No one can boggle at the fact that the Christian faith has been a decisive factor in shaping the entire history of the Western world. From the standpoint of the honest historian it cannot be left out without distorting the entire picture and leaving present developments essentially incomprehensible. If one of the purposes of education is that we may understand ourselves and the forces that have shaped our lives, then to ignore the Christian religion and all that has proceeded from it in nearly two thousand years of history is senseless. There are many of our schools which recognize this and do an excellent job in building the story not only of Christianity but of other religions into the whole educational picture. Perhaps this is the one thing that the public schools should be expected to do, and our concern in the future should be for a balanced picture of history rather than for an opportunity to do specific moral and religious teaching.

Frustration

We must now consider the second reaction which has been one of frustration. It should be recognized that, for some people, religious teaching in the school has been an excuse for neglecting their educational responsibility within the Church. I well remember a group of ministers, whom I met some years ago, where the sentiment seemed to be: "You can do nothing with the church school; you

can do nothing with the home: Therefore, our only hope is to get into the public school." The fact that some have taken this attitude should not be allowed to discredit the released-time programs. They have been exceedingly valuable in what they have added to the Christian education of children from Christian homes and more particularly for the training they have given to children outside the reach of the church school and whose parents are incapable of any kind of Christian influence.

Nothing, however, should be allowed to obscure the central importance of the church and the home in the teaching of the Christian faith to our generation. Here the church has a freedom which it cannot expect to have anywhere else. The decisive influences in any child's life are those which operate within the home, and yet, until recently, little was being done by the church to train parents for the responsibility in relation to their children or even to acquaint them with the fact that they are committed by their faith to be ministers of it to their own children.

The Church School— Neglected Stepchild

It is no exaggeration either that in many of our churches the church school has been a kind of neglected stepchild in which the work of education was foisted on anyone who could be persuaded to undertake it regardless of his qualifications for teach-

ing. During the past year and a half the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has been stirred to make a fresh approach to the whole task of education both in the church and the home. In October, 1950, the churches are going to be asked to make a fresh start in adult education. What is most helpful is that already so many have begun to take their educational opportunity with a new seriousness and, working at it as never before, have found rewarding results.

There is no room, however, for overconfidence. Only a few short steps have as yet been taken. We cannot be content until in the fullest sense the church sees that it exists in order to teach the Christian faith and until it establishes all its educational activities on a level that commands respect from the entire community. When that happens churchmen will have less reason to feel frustration and defeat if they are shut out from teaching religion in the public schools. With their increasing sense of the importance of such teaching, however, they will be more alert to take advantage of any opportunity that presents itself for bringing the Christian faith to bear upon our cultural life. They will see also with increasing clearness the peril of an education which in excluding the Christian faith from a consideration creates a vacuum which is almost certain to be filled by the secular religion of our time, the worship of science.

DIVERSITY AND FREEDOM— BUT NO DIVISION AMONG US!

*By DR. PAUL WRIGHT, minister, First Presbyterian Church,
Portland, Oregon.*

FIVE churches in downtown Portland have been meeting together for more than two years for union services of worship on Sunday evenings.

It all began when members of the First Congregational and First Christian Churches, of Portland, who had been having a happy experience in inter-Church co-operation through a mutually planned and conducted adult education project during the midweek, invited the rest of us, the First Unitarian Church, First Methodist Church, and the First Presbyterian Church, to join with them for Sunday evening worship.

After the proper bodies in each of our Churches had endorsed the idea, the ministers came together for a breakfast, the only time we could get together. We made up our minds at once, if this project was to work, the ministers must take it with utmost seriousness. They agreed that they would accept no other speaking engagements on Sunday evening and that they would not fail to be present at these evening services.

A plan of rotation was also agreed upon, each Church entertaining the other Churches for a month at a time.

The ministers took part in the program, each preaching when it came his turn. After the service, there was opportunity for fellowship, when light refreshments were served. Music was provided by the choir of each Church entering into this plan. The response was immediate and favorable, and all of us felt an exhilaration of spirit.

So fine had been the spirit of comradeship among these congregations during the first year that the second year's program was launched with a new and exhilarating idea of helping to educate young European students still interned in D. P. camps.

The proposal received a hearty response from our congregations. Immediately we began negotiations to bring the students to America, and received an offering each Sunday night to finance the project. Scholarships were secured from each of five colleges in the Portland area, and the Church people agreed to pay whatever expenses were necessary for maintaining students in these colleges. When finally the papers came through it was discovered that one of the students was married, so we made the number six. We specified

that there should be one Catholic and one Jew among the number to come, this condition being made as evidence that our interest was not to further the cause of any particular Church, but to befriend people in need.

By the end of the summer we had received assurances that the six students would arrive in September. In anticipation of their coming, we arranged a great welcoming banquet. We invited members of the five Churches, necessarily limiting the number to a hundred from each Church, the five presidents of the colleges, the governor of the state, and the mayor of the city. Everyone felt the warmth of the occasion and accepted our invitations with enthusiasm. We chose as the banquet theme, "Educating for Freedom."

The banquet was an almost indescribable experience to everyone present. There was a glow of satisfaction that actually we had done something together. There was the release of warmth of friendliness because of continued contact of two years of worship together. All of us were moved by the presence of these six fine young students who had incurred risks of life in fleeing from oppression to freedom.

It had been our purpose to impress the six young students with the warmth of our welcome, and we hoped that the greetings of the governor and of the mayor would help toward this end. Each spoke words

that came deep from the heart. Our woman mayor spoke of her usual duties in extending the hospitality of the city to all sorts of people and groups, but she felt uniquely honored to welcome these six young people who had sacrificed for freedom. Each of the presidents of the colleges also spoke in turn.

Then one of the boys responded, giving a very brief, carefully worded address. He spoke of their hopes as they came to this country of privilege and opportunity. He spoke of their sense of responsibility as they prepared themselves for what they hoped would be a better world, and he gave thanks for the concern of the Churches for those unfortunate people of Europe who have suffered from dictatorship. So beautiful were his words in thought and diction, and so sincerely uttered, that all rose to cheer him, and there were tears in many eyes.

An inter-Church committee made up entirely of laymen from the five Churches has been at work to oversee the continued happiness and prosperity of our students. They have visited every campus together, conferred with the advisers to these students, after paying their fees as desired, and are planning a happy Christmas season for them.

We have discovered also that unity means strength. From time to time the five ministers have pronounced on civic issues that are a moral and public concern. There was, for in-

stance, the occasion when a governor, who came into the state house upon the unfortunate death of the elected official, asked for the resignation of the Liquor Control Commission in which the people of the state had confidence. It was a critical situation, when it seemed that unwholesome liquor interests were attempting to bring into being a board that would relax the vigilance in its control of the state monopoly which dispenses intoxicating drinks. The ministers drew up a telegram to the governor asking him when he made his new appointment to keep in mind the state provision for enforcement of liquor control laws. Immediately the newspapers picked up the story, printed the telegram, and made the public conscious of the fact that new appointments were being considered. It had to be done in the open, and in the opinion of many citizens this registration of public concern had much to do with the appointment of new men to the commission.

At the Breakfast Club meetings the ministers planned a different sort of evening service for the third year. Once each month we have a round-table conference, and hold a discussion among ourselves on various things of interest to Christians. The first of these was on the question of Christian burial. Again the newspapers were present and reports of what we had said at that conference table got into the papers. Immediately there were responses from the

funeral directors and florists of the town. These letters were followed by an editorial in one of the newspapers commending the ministers for their emphasis upon *Christian* burial. Letters of commendation and of blame poured in upon the ministers. But our discussion had registered in the community consciousness.

The next discussion is to be on the subject of a Christian observance of the festival of Christmas.

We have sought to reach out into the community in other ways. We invite the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, the nurses in the hospital of our city, and other groups to our union evening services, honoring them by a reception afterward.

Also, from time to time the young people take part in the service and afterward join in the hour of fellowship. It is interesting, almost exciting, to experience the creativity of this sort of Christian fellowship. There is a constant stimulation and growth of imaginative thinking which comes as a result of it. Where it will lead, we do not know, but we are on the way, and we feel it is the right way.

At times we have poignantly felt the power of Christ's prayer that "they all may be one." This unity, we have discovered, is not on the level of easy compromise, but on that deeper level where the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by his Spirit. There are diversity and freedom among us, but no division.

Sanctuary

Christian Responsibility for Civil Rights

Introit:

"Our Father, throned in heaven high,
To Thee in need Thy people cry;
Thou who as brothers count'st us all,
We pray Thee hearken to our call,
Teach us the prayer that grace imparts;
Not from the lips but from our hearts."

Hymn of Adoration: "Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee."

Scripture Reading: Acts 17: 24-28.

Meditation:

They tell me, Liberty, that in thy name
I may not plead for all the human race;
That some are born to bondage and disgrace,
Some to a heritage of woe and shame,
And some to power supreme and glorious fame.
With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base;
And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
All people, and, for all, fair freedom claim.
Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate,
God never made a tyrant nor a slave;
Woe then to those who dare to desecrate
His glorious image—for to all he gave
Eternal rights, which none may violate,
And by a mighty hand the oppressed he yet shall save.

—William Lloyd Garrison.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second great Commandment takes on new meaning when considered in the light of the Christian belief that man—each man, every man—is of supreme worth because he is a child of God. Man is not a means to some laudable end; he is of value in himself, of intrinsic worth. We have a Christian responsibility to make it possible for all men to possess the fullest opportunity to think, to create, and to exercise their freedom so that God's purpose for our world may be carried out.

Our democratic way of life rests on the premise that each person has an essential worth and dignity which must be respected. This premise implies that human rights are derived from God who made man in His own likeness and that they cannot be denied to some men by other men. That is, all men are free and equal and all men possess certain inalienable rights. Those human rights which men look to government

to make secure are called "civil rights." The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has clearly recalled them to our attention by designating them as the right to safety and security of the person, the right to citizenship and its privileges, the right to freedom of conscience and expression, and the right to equality of opportunity. The duty of group life and particularly of government is to protect these rights for every person—"that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" (Declaration of Independence). However, in order to insure that these rights or civil liberties are safeguarded, even placed beyond the reach of the rule of the majority, they have been set forth in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. The task of all in a democracy is to discover means whereby civil liberties may become a reality for every person.

The American Christian has a responsibility both to the Christian tradition and to his democratic heritage. He must work in his own church and with church institutions to make sure that their policies and practices respect the worth of all persons. If Christians cannot demonstrate to the world the value of the person, then who can? Therefore, the Christian must evaluate civil liberties, which are the goals to be attained in protecting the worth of man, in the light of Christian teaching. The Christian must then adopt those means which best express, although they may not express fully, the Christian teaching of love and justice in order to create the kind of society which safeguards the intrinsic worth of every person as a child of God.

Prayers:

"O God, fountain of light and truth, give to Thy Church vision, charity and understanding, that the heavenly message of Thy Son, free from the traditions of men, may be welcomed as the promise of a better age; through Him who maketh all things new, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

"O God, our Father, increase in every nation the sense of human brotherhood, true respect for man and for woman, loyalty in service and charity, happiness in work and justice in reward; that our homes may be kept safe and pure, our cities renewed in beauty and order, and all the world may reflect the radiance of Thy throne in heaven. Amen."

"O God, our Father, give to the nations of the world a true heart of comradeship; that every people may contribute its excellence to the service of all, and the whole world may go forward in the new and living way revealed by Jesus Christ; who now liveth and reigneth, with Thee . . . , one God, world without end. Amen."

—From The Book of Common Worship, Revised.

Hymn of Dedication: "The Fathers Built This City."

Benediction.

—Prepared by Clifford Earle, Associate Secretary, and Margaret E. Kuhn, Assistant Editor, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

CHRISTIAN Action

WHAT YOU AND YOUR CHURCH CAN DO

Social Education and Action Chairmen and Secretaries, Please Note!

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS underscores the urgency of efforts to safeguard our American civil liberties and democratic heritage. A program of Christian action is suggested in this section of the magazine.

- I. See that members of your church know the stand of our General Assembly on the President's Civil Rights Program.
 - Print in your church bulletin or newsletter the General Assembly pronouncement appearing on page 3.
 - Ask your minister to read it from the pulpit.
- II. Secure copies of these materials for your church library and reading table. Make copies available to various groups for study and discussion. Civil rights legislation is on the agenda for the second session of Congress opening January 3, 1950, and one of the best ways to be informed on these important and disputed matters is to read and discuss:
 - The Bible and Human Rights*, by Kathleen W. MacArthur. The Woman's Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York. 60 cents.
 - The Christian Citizen and Civil Rights*. A guide to study and action, by Dorothy I. Height and J. Oscar Lee. Department of Christian Social Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York. 50 cents.
 - To Secure These Rights*, Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York. \$1.50.
 - The Declaration of Independence (see *The World Almanac* or your public library).
 - The Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights—Amendments 13, 14, 15, and 19.
 - Freedom's Charter*, by O. Frederick Nolde. Headline Series Number 76, Foreign Policy Association, New York. 35 cents.
- III. Find the honest answer to these questions in your community—
 - Are the civil liberties guaranteed to all American citizens by our Constitution and Bill of Rights being enforced in your community for all residents?
 - Does the color of a man's skin or the church to which he goes or the nationality his name suggests make any difference when he applies for a job?
 - Does your local school board or neighboring college or university demand loyalty oaths of the teaching faculty? Where teachers are dismissed for holding unpopular ideas, what can or should you do?
 - Is it possible for all religious sects and political groups to hold meetings in your town to distribute literature in public places? If these groups are anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, should their activities be controlled? How?

- What about riots and mass hysteria? If in your community violence has occurred because of expression of opinion or religious belief which is unacceptable to certain groups, what has been the action of the churches? of the S E A committees in presbytery and in the local church? Have you studied the situation?

At the local level, it is not only the Constitution of the United States and the machinery of the Federal Government, but the law enforcement agencies of the local community who should preserve morality, public order, and welfare. Is it the job of Christians to see to it that the methods used in enforcing the law shall be just and equitable, that calmness shall prevail and good judgment be exercised? How should agencies such as our own go about this?

When violence occurs, the role played by the guardians of the law is at times very distressing. Dorothy Height and J. Oscar Lee, in *The Christian Citizen and Civil Rights*, say:

"A major source of protection for citizens is the local police. Often we are inclined to overlook a problem on the doorstep of everyone of us—that of police treatment. In some communities police brutality has necessitated the protests of citizen groups. Recent studies of riots have shown that wherever the police identify themselves as servants of the entire community, rather than as persons related to one particular group, they have been effective in dealing with conflict. Wherever, too, the police have a broad knowledge and understanding of the problems and aspirations of minority groups, they have brought about better relationships."

- What do you know about your local police situation?

• What is being done to educate the police force as to their role in helping to reduce intergroup tensions and conflicts and to protect civil liberties?

- If in your state people are denied

equal justice before the law, and, when feelings run high, a kind of native fascism stirs itself, what should the Christian do? Sometimes lawless persons act from a conviction or delusion that they are protecting America from what they think of as "undesirable elements" in the country—Jews, Negroes, foreign-born, or people holding unpopular political opinions.

- If young people are involved, what are you doing in your church, in your schools, in parents' groups, to help young people to act toward other persons in a spirit of brotherhood? to instill a sense of justice and fair play?

- What is your community doing to combat prejudice and intolerance? What are the churches doing?

• If persons who suffer from social and economic injustice are responsible at times for outbreaks of violence, how are we trying to make them feel that democracy has so much more to offer them than any totalitarian ideology, and help them achieve the necessary psychological and economic security that is essential for them if they are to know that within democracy lies the answer?

• Do we demonstrate, by working for better housing, adequate wages, social security, and a world without war, that in the United States of America the people may and do attempt to remove economic and social injustice through democratic methods?

- What effect does the radio and public press have upon civil liberties in your community?

IV. Are the rights of citizenship guaranteed in your community?

Our laws provide the right to vote, and as a nation we have aimed to make the privilege a reality for all citizens. But the Report of the Committee on Civil Rights documents the fact that there are many backwaters in our political life where the right to vote is not assured. The franchise is barred to some citizens be-

cause of race; to others, by institutions or procedures that impede free access to the polls. Whatever the barrier, there are ways of doing something about assuring all persons the right to vote.

In a Texas city, a group of alert citizens banded together to help to get out the voters. They soon realized that few people knew the facts about the poll tax, and how it could be paid. Many had become resigned to it as an impossible barrier. They felt that it was useless to try to vote.

The Citizens' Committee discussed the matter thoroughly and decided to encourage those who could afford it to pay their poll tax and vote. Its activity culminated in a Poll Tax Day in churches throughout the city. Ministers co-operated. Plans were made for speakers to tell about the poll tax and for the collection of taxes at the close of the regular church service.

On Poll Tax Day, 1,500 persons paid their taxes. Members of the Citizens' Committee turned in the taxes to the municipal office on the following morning. So effective was the action, that the city clerk called members of the committee to ask what had aroused so many citizens. Many persons cast their votes for the first time.

- Why was such activity deemed appropriate for emphasis in the churches?
- In what other ways can you urge citizens to pay poll taxes, while you work to eliminate the tax as a prerequisite for voting?
- How can we demand "free elections" in other countries when citizens in

our own country are barred from voting? That is a question to be asked of a candidate for public office by representatives of your association or church who seek to discover his stand on legislation to abolish the poll tax. Talking with candidates is an essential step in all parts of the country. Plan the interview carefully.

Find out how your candidate stands on these issues:

1. Does he believe that citizens should be required to pay a poll tax to vote in Federal elections? Does he see the vote as the citizens' responsibility to his country or as a special privilege to be controlled by the state?
2. Does he realize that representatives from poll tax states are elected with a smaller number of people voting than is true in non-poll-tax states?
3. If yours is a poll tax state, try to find out the specific things the candidate has done and will do to help abolish the poll tax.
4. If he "goes constitutional," remind him that the fifteenth amendment provides that no state shall abridge the right of any citizen to vote in Federal elections. Legislation to eliminate the poll tax would help make the Constitution work.

Locate the situations in your community that create group tension or high feelings. Work to eliminate them! Plan for constructive action when civil liberties are endangered!

CITIZENSHIP

The second session of the 81st Congress will convene on January 3, 1950. The following legislative notes briefly summarize some important pieces of legislation passed in the first session and indicate other items of unfinished business for the second session. Legislative measures that have become laws are listed with their assigned numbers. All bills not yet law retain their

numbers and are carried over into the second session.

International Legislation Adopted in First Session:

- Congress extended the *European Recovery Program* (the Marshall Plan) with an appropriation of \$5,430,000,000—

90 per cent of the funds requested by the President for the current fiscal year.

• The Senate ratified the **North Atlantic Treaty** (ratification of a treaty requires a 2/3 vote of the Senate, no action by the House) by a vote of 82 to 13.

• The **Military Assistance Program** (MAP) became Public Law 329 on October 6 after long discussion in House and Senate. Military assistance was authorized to signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty; to Greece, Turkey, Iran, Korea, the Philippine Republic, and, in the President's discretion, "the general area" of Nationalist China. The total sum authorized is \$1,314,000,000. The President is also permitted to give surplus arms valued at about \$450,000,000 to nations accepting the North Atlantic Treaty.

• Congress passed **H.R. 6305**, authorizing participation by the United States in the International Wheat Agreement, and the President has signed the bill.

• **International Wheat Agreement:** Proposed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, this agreement was submitted to member Governments for their approval. It is a 4-year agreement, under which 36 importing countries agree to buy, and 5 exporting countries agree to sell, more than 450 million bushels of wheat each year within a fixed price range—maximum, \$1.80; minimum, \$1.50 the first year to \$1.20 the fourth. The Agreement has been in operation since July, and all but six of the original negotiating countries have ratified it.

• **E C A:** Congress passed Public Law 47 in April, 1949, and thereby authorized a one-year extension of the Economic Cooperation Administration which administers the European Recovery Program. It was not until September that Congress approved Foreign Aid Appropriations (Public Law 327), which granted \$5,430,000,000 for E C A, including \$45 million for the Greek-Turkish Arms Aid program,

\$912,500,000 for Army expenses, including relief, in occupied areas, and also made available \$4 million for the assistance of Chinese students financially stranded in this country because of civil disturbance in China. E C A must be renewed and appropriations granted each year; therefore, hearings on the proposed 1951 E C A program will begin soon after Congress returns.

• **Assistance to Palestine Refugees:** The Senate passed Public Law 25 on March 24, 1949, authorizing a special contribution of \$16 million by the United States to the United Nations for the relief of Palestine refugees. The appropriation, as finally passed (Public Law 119), granted only \$12 million with the additional \$4 million to be granted by the President when he finds that other nations party to the United Nations agreement have met their obligations to the relief fund.

No further plans of adequate scope for permanent relief have been proposed for consideration by our Government, and international efforts at resettlement have not yet been successful. Meanwhile, funds from this appropriation are fast being exhausted and the number of homeless remains near 900,000.

• **United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund:** Continued United States support of UNICEF was assured for this year by Public Law 170. Funds previously granted but not used were reappropriated. Unfortunately a provision was included that says, "It is the expressed intention of the Congress that such participation by the United States shall cease on June 30, 1950." It will be impossible for this agency to continue without American support, and although it was emergency in purpose, the need that it has met continues. UNICEF has spent an estimated \$6 million in Palestine alone, and has been able to continue operations in eastern Europe as well as western.

• **Reciprocal Trade Agreements:** A three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which expired on June 30, was finally approved by the Senate on September 15. It was passed by the House in February. The act was restored to its original form recommended by Secretary Hull in 1934, and amendments passed by the 80th Congress were stricken out. (Public Law 307.)

Congressional Action Not Completed on the Following Foreign Policy Measures:

• **Point IV:** The Administration has presented H.R. 5615, its proposal for technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. Brief and hurried hearings were held before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in October. No action has been taken by the committee, however, and the Senate has not yet begun its study. Congressman Christian Herter, Mass., has introduced a bill, H.R. 6026, for the same purpose and has urged the committee to study it. Copies of these hearings should be available from your Congressman's office.

S. 2197 and H.R. 5584, companion Administration-sponsored bills for helping to finance Point IV, have been approved by the Committees on Foreign Affairs in both House and Senate. These bills provide for an amendment to the charter of the Export-Import Bank to enable the guarantee of foreign investments. Neither the House nor the Senate has acted on the favorable report of the committees.

• **International Trade Organization:** H.J. Res. 236, authorizing membership by the United States in the International Trade Organization, was not reported by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, John Kee, W. Va., chairman, but action is expected early in 1950.

• **Displaced Persons:** H.R. 4567, liberalizing amendments to the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, was passed by the House on June 2. After being held in

Senate Judiciary Committee (Pat McCarran, Nev., chairman), it was reported out of committee on October 12, without recommendation. After lengthy and heated debate, just before adjournment, the Senate voted 36 to 30 to send the bill back to the Judiciary Committee and asked for a further report no later than January 25, 1950.

There is urgent need for prompt and generous action in Congress. The outcome of this legislation has far-reaching effects upon America's status in Europe and the United Nations organization.

• **Repeal of Oriental Exclusion Act:** H.R. 199 was passed by the House last March 1, but has not yet been reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It would provide immigration quotas for all Asiatic and Pacific nations and would eliminate race as a qualification for naturalization.

• **Liberalization of Naturalization:** The House passed H.J. Res. 236 which would provide naturalization rights for all legally entrant immigrants for permanent residence without regard to race. This does not provide additional immigration quotas for Asiatics, as would H.R. 199, but liberalizes naturalization provisions. In the Senate, the bill was reported by the Judiciary Committee, placed on the calendar, and when called was "passed over" on the request of Senator Richard Russell, of Georgia. It remains on the Senate calendar for action next session.

Domestic Legislation Adopted in First Session:

• **Housing Act of 1949:** Public Law 171 provides for 810,000 low-rent housing units in the next five years, and allocates \$260 million for farm housing and \$25 million in grants for slum clearance.

• **Minimum Wage:** Employees engaged in interstate commerce and those engaged in the production of goods for commerce benefit from raising the minimum hourly wage from 40 cents to 75

cents. An estimated 1.5 million will receive increases of 5 cents to 15 cents. (Public Law 393.)

Domestic Legislation to Be Considered Further:

• **Extension and Liberalization of Social Security (H.R. 6000):** This extremely long and complicated bill was passed by the House on October 6. Senator Walter George, of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has announced that hearings are scheduled before his committee for early January. In its present form, the bill would extend old-age and survivors benefits to approximately 11,000,000 persons. These include:

1. About 4.5 million nonfarm self-employed persons (with specific exceptions) whose net earnings from self-employment total \$400.
2. About 3.8 million state and local Government employees—if certain agreements are made among employees, employing units, and the Federal Security Agency.
3. Some 750,000 domestic servants who earn \$25 or more per quarter, and who work 26 days or more per quarter—unless employed on a profit-making farm.
4. About 600,000 employees of non-profit institutions other than ministers and members of religious orders. The tax from the employee is compulsory; at least half the benefits are therefore assured. The employer may decide not to pay his share of the tax.
5. 200,000 agricultural processing workers off the farm; certain other farm-related and agricultural-horticultural association employees.
6. Miscellaneous groups employed outside United States territory, temporary Federal employees, etc.

• **Survey and Construction of Elementary and Secondary School Build-**

ings: The Senate has passed S. 2317, which provides \$5 million for surveys by state educational agencies to determine the location, size, and type of school facilities needed in a long-range school construction program and provides an additional \$10 million for emergency construction immediately. There was no dissent in the Senate, but there was not time for action by the House.

• **Anti-Poll Tax:** H.R. 3199, which would make illegal the requirement of poll tax for voting, was passed by the House on July 26. No action was taken in the Senate.

• **F E P C:** The House Committee on Education and Labor reported an FEPC bill (H.R. 4453) on August 2. The House did not take action. S. 174 was reported out without recommendation by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and is slated for consideration early in the next session where it faces an almost certain filibuster.

• **Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii:** These bills, H.R. 331 and H.R. 49 respectively, have been reported to the House and await action there. No action has been taken in the Senate.

• **Navajo and Hopi Rehabilitation:** President Truman vetoed S. 1407, authorizing a ten-year program of rehabilitation of the Navajo and Hopi Indian tribes. The Navajo Council recommended the veto. The bill as passed was so amended by Congress that it was in important respects no longer in accord with the views of the original proponents. It is expected that an amended bill will be considered early in 1950.

These notes include only those legislative measures on which the General Assembly has issued pronouncements.

—From Washington Letter, No. 69, issued by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and Information Service, November 12, 1949, published by Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches.

About Books

Freedom's Charter—The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by O. Frederick Nolde, with introduction by Eleanor Roosevelt. Headline Series Number 76, Foreign Policy Association, New York. 35 cents.

Here is the story of man's persistent struggle for freedom. It points out the hard-won victories in that struggle—solid steppingstones in angry waters of tyranny and intolerance: the British Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the latest, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The little book deals with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at Paris in December, 1948. It gives the complete text of the Declaration, and something of its history and background.

Added to these is an interpretation of the significance of the document and its meaning for mankind. In this especially, the wisdom and experience of Dr. Nolde have been masterfully utilized.

Dr. Nolde emphasizes the fact that the Declaration is only a first step and that a covenant and measures of implementation must be adopted. He points out the necessity of studying the document and of spreading its information. He insists that the provisions of the Declaration must be applied in domestic and community life. He urges that support be given to the development of world opinion for promoting the observance of human rights.

Freedom's Charter is an able exposition of a vital document, and its convenient form and modest price should greatly aid in the wide reading and study it merits.
—Jesse Belmont Barber.

Religion Through the Year. A reprint of articles published in *The Times* (London) during the year 1948. The Times Publishing Company, London.

Here are published the articles on religion which appeared each Saturday in *The Times* in 1948, with additional articles published also on the eves of Christmas and Easter—54 in all.

They follow both the natural seasons and the Anglican calendar with its "changing round of fast and festival." The short articles, prepared by a team of writers whose names do not appear, are in sermon form, though written for reading and not for hearing. The Lord Bishop of London, in his foreword, says "they are models in many respects of what sermons should be, whether written or spoken."

The chapters (messages) have continuity because of the unity of the Church year. The style is restrained. The emphasis is upon the broad fundamentals of Anglican teaching at its relevant best. The appeal is definitely intellectual.

The social gospel is there in such chapters as those entitled "God in History," "From Holidays to Work," "Christians and Marxists," "Lambeth and Amsterdam," "Purpose in History," "Christians and Duty," "Science and Peace," "Faith and Works," "The Twilight of Civilization."

The book should have wide appeal to both lay leaders and the clergy.

—Clifford Earle.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth, by M. K. Gandhi. Public Affairs Press. \$5.00.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the world has been conscious of the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Some

have ventured to call him "the greatest man of our time." Thus a book from the pen of such a personality deserves the thoughtful attention of those who would interpret the movements of contemporary social, political, and religious history.

In this autobiography (according to Gandhi, "it's not my purpose to attempt a real autobiography—I simply want to tell the story of my numerous experiments with truth") the reader will find the author baring his soul in the most intimate details of life.

The political activities of the "Mahatma" are already matters of record, but in his book we find the motives for conduct, set forth in a simple but forcefully fascinating narrative.

The book remains true to this purpose, as the author outlines the development of his experiments with nonviolence, celibacy, and other principles of moral conduct that helped him to understand "not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God."

His religious philosophy unfolds in the pages of the narrative: "A clean confession, combined with a promise never to commit the sin again, when offered before one who has the right to receive it, is the purest type of repentance." "Daily I would pray for God's protection and get it. Not that I had any idea of God. It was faith that was at work." "The Sermon on the Mount went straight to my heart—the verses, 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' delighted me beyond measure." "Supplication, worship, prayer are no superstition; they are acts more real than the acts of eating, sitting or walking . . . they alone are real, all else is unreal."

In many respects the distress and suffering of the people of India today parallel the reverses, rebukes, and suffering of this leader in the fight for Indian independence. To read of his experiments and to follow his process of arriving at certain conclu-

sions for action will bring you to admire the complete sincerity of the author and to appreciate his courage and moral conviction. Christianity may well hear him plead, "Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

—F. Homer Tegler.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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These immortal words are inscribed on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

*"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."*

Emma Lazarus was the author of these words, chosen for this place of honor because they truly express the ideal of America as a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted peoples of the earth.